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CHAPTER 20

GEOGRAPHICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS: SETTLEMENTS AND ECONOMY

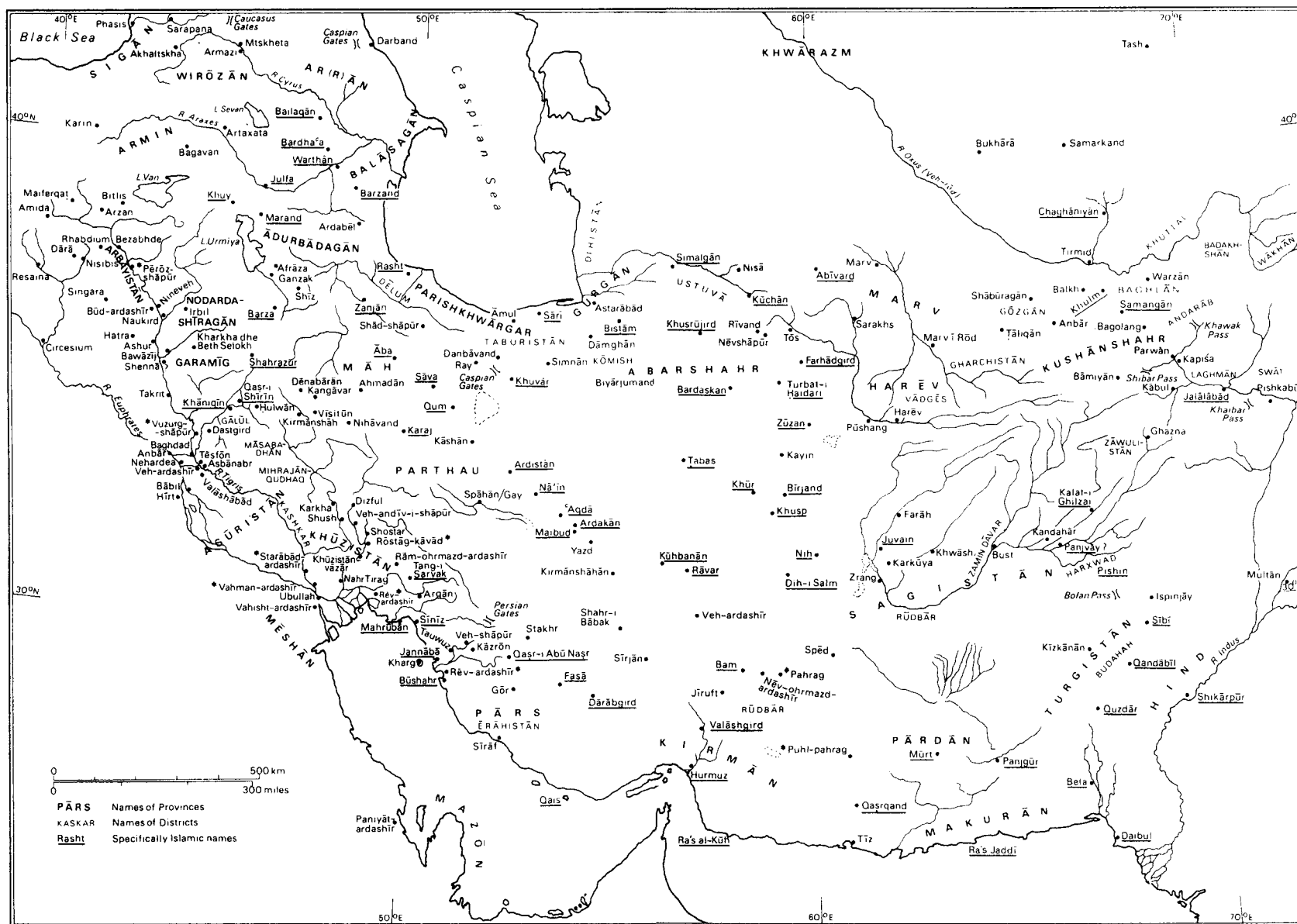
A real, if fragile, political unity had again been established over the majority of the Iranian-speaking peoples by the 1st century B.C. Indicative of this process was the generalizing of the term “Aryān” (Eratosthenes’ *Ariana*).¹ Formerly it had designated the kingdom of the Aparni and Parthians in eastern Iran; it now applied to the entire range of Iranian and non-Iranian regions tributary to the Arsacid dynasty. In the centuries that followed, the unity of the state was often illusory; while the topography of the empire and its ethnic, economic, linguistic, and cultural composition remained divisive factors. But the Sasanian concept of Ērān-shahr re-affirmed the ideal of unification contained in “Aryān”; and, by the end of Shāpūr I’s reign, Ērān-shahr had attained its greatest stable extent.

An Iranian, at the time of Shāpūr I, could have located himself geographically in two ways. He was, most generally, a resident of Khwānirah. This was the favoured part of the material world, the central one of the seven earth-regions (*kishvar*).² More specifically, his village or town lay within an administrative district (*ōstān*) of one of the empire’s provinces (*shahr*). His province, already possessing an ancient history, was marked by its distinctive cultural complex. Geographical factors – rivers, mountains, deserts, seas – and the practicable lines of communication helped define it. So, of course, did climate and soil. The *Dēnkard*, Book IV, records the aphorism: “Produce is found as from a certain province thus according to its type of land”.³ The province, in turn, was visualized as oriented toward one of the four points of the compass (*kust*). Shāpūr I’s inscription on the Ka’ba-yi Zardusht lists the provinces of the empire in geographical order and by quadrant. Three other geographical lists provide interesting

¹ Strabo xv.2.8.

² See, e.g. *Bundahishn*, chapter vB, pp. 55.3–57.7 (*Zand-ākāsib*, pp. 65–70); translated in D. N. MacKenzie, “Zoroastrian astrology in the Bundahishn”, *BSOAS* xxvii (1964), pp. 517–19. See also *Bundahishn*, chapter VIII, “On the nature of the lands” pp. 74.9–76.6 (*Zand-ākāsib*, pp. 91–2).

³ *Dēnkard* I, pp. 418.10–11.



Map 14. The provinces of early Sasanian Iran.

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comparative matter for the quadrants: the Pahlavi text "Cities of Ērān-shahr"; the list of cities, districts, and provinces, based on Sasanian sources, in Pseudo-Moses of Chorene's geography; and al-Tha'ālibī's description of the division of Iran into four margravates in the reign of Khusrau I.¹ These indicate that the concept of regionalization was not rigid. Several provinces were transitional and could be classed in either of two quadrants. But six coherent regions do emerge from these texts; they could be variously represented in a quadripartite scheme. These six regions are further represented in the *Bundahishn*'s account of how Sām partitioned Ērān among his sons.² They may be summarized as follows:

Quadrant (region)	Shāpūr I's inscription	Bundahishn	Tha'ālibī
South-west	1. Pārs		Fārs
	2. Parthau	Spāhān	
	3. Khuzistān		Ahvāz
West	4. Maishān		
	5. Asūristān	Asūristān	'Irāq
	6. Nōdardashiragān		
	7. Arbāyistān		
North (north-west)	8. Ādurbādagān		Āzarbāijān
	9. Armin		Armīniyya
	10. Wirōzān		
	11. Sigān		
	12. Ar(r)ān		
	13. Balāsagān		
(north)	Parishkhwārgar	Padishkhwārgar	Ṭabaristān
	14. Māh	Ray	Ray, etc.
	15. Gurgān		Gurgān
East (east)	16. Marv		
	17. Harēw		
	Abarshahr	Abarshahr	Khurāsān
	24. Kushānshahr		Ṭukhāristān
(south-east)	18. Kirmān		(Kirmān) ³
	19. Sagistān	Sēyānsih	Sijistān
	20. Turgistān		
	21. Makurān		
	22. Pārdān		
	23. Hind		
	25. Mazōn		

THE QUADRANT OF THE SOUTH

The essentially southern provinces were Pārs, Parthau, and Khūzistān, although Kirmān could also be included. Pārs was the homeland of the Sasanians and a focal area of the Zoroastrian church. It occupied most of the Gulf coast from Qais island in the east to the Jarrāhī river

¹ Tha'ālibī, p. 609.

² Pp. 233.10–234.14; *Zand-ākāsib* xxxv. 42–50 (pp. 299–301).

³ Kirmān is included in the southern margravate; *Shabristanihā i Ērān* and Pseudo-Moses put the entire south-east in the southern quadrant.

in the west, which during the Parthian period was part of Elymais. (Ptolemy also makes the eastern part of the coast, up to Nāband river, part of Kirmān.) It reached north through the Aborsēn mountains¹ – the southern Zagros and its easterly continuations. The border with Parthau lay toward the population concentrations along the Zanda River.

The city of Stakhr (Iṣṭakhr) served as an administrative and religious centre from Achaemenian times. Under the Sasanians the latter function was especially important; the dynasty's fire, Anāhīd-ardashīr, was the ideological heart of the empire. But the city also functioned as a major crossroads, communicating with the coast and the adjoining provinces. The *Tabula Peutingeriana* terms it "the market town of the Persians"; and its district must have extended from Parthau along the road to the Kirmān border at Pantyene (Sirjān). The adjoining district of Dārābjird may have connected Fārs with the ports of Kirmān. The city of that name had already become a governmental centre under the Bāzrangid dynasty and was a Nestorian diocese by 424.

Controlling the barren, central hill region was the well-watered valley city of Gōr; Ardashīr I gave this early capital of his the honorific Ardashīr-khwarra, "Fortune of Ardashīr". The city connected with Stakhr via the town at Qaṣr-i Abū Naṣr. From Parthian times, and perhaps earlier, a share of the Gulf trade probably came through Gōr (Gabra in Ptolemy) from the Būshahr (Chersonesus in Ptolemy) peninsula. Under the Sasanians, however, the fortified port of Sīrāf was becoming increasingly prominent. This city may have developed from the earlier coastal town of Auzinza (Ptolemy); a settlement of Roman prisoners could well be responsible for its fort.²

The concentrations of Greek-speaking and Syriac-speaking captives, however, lay in the western districts. Shāpūr I's foundation Veh-Shāpūr (Bīshāpūr), supported by the fertile grain and fruit lands along the Hilla (Granis in Arrian) river, lay near the route between the river port of Taocae (Tauwaj, Tavvaz) and Kāzrōn (Kāzarūn). Former Roman subjects may not merely have worked at the city itself. They may have helped improve the old route to Khūzistān via the Persian Gates; Aurel Stein noted Roman influences in the Pul-i Murd and two other bridges which facilitated travel to the Fahliyān valley.³ The mountain districts north and west of the main population centres of Pārs were inhabited not only by nomads, loosely termed "Kurds", but

¹ *Bundahishn*, p. 78.5–7; *Zand-ākāsib* ix.12–16 (p. 95).

² Whitehouse and Williamson, "Sasanian Maritime Trade", p. 33.

³ See Stein, *Old Routes*, pp. 32ff.

also by communities of settled farmers. The latter built terraced fields; as in the heavily populated valleys, they stored and managed their water supply by a system of canals and dams. These also powered mills, such as the one found by Stein in the Deh-i Nau valley. Perhaps the Nestorian diocese of Mashkenā dhe Kurdū comprised the populous mountains along the road to Khūzistān.

The road left Pārs at the bridge over the Mārūn (Ṭāb) at Argān (Ar-rājān). Kavād refounded this strategic city, transporting there his captives from Amida and Maiferqat; its honorific remains somewhat uncertain.¹ An older foundation near the lower course of the river was Rēv-Ardashīr (Rīshahr), which received some of Shāpūr I's Roman prisoners, including numerous Christians. The city probably, as in Islamic times, had commercial ties with the ports of Mahrūbān, Sīnīz, and Jannābā. In late Sasanian times the Nestorian metropolitan there directed church affairs in India and beyond. By that time, however, perhaps partly in response to the problem of piracy, the lower Gulf ports were gaining in importance. This trend may be indicated by the appearance of Qais island as a separate diocese in 544.

To the north of Pārs, the province Parthau consisted essentially of the drainage area of the Zanda river, from the mountains of the Bakhtiyārī tribes on the Khūzistān border to the neighbouring cities of Aspadana (Spāhān, Iṣfahān) and Gabe (Gay, Jay). In the east this region, known to Strabo as Paraetacene,² bordered on Kirmān. It may have included Isatichae (Yazd); or else the latter city, in agreement with Ptolemy, may have been the most westerly major city of Kirmān. Its western mountains adjoined those of Māh, the country of the Lurs and the Cossaei (Kurds).³ While counting as part of Eratosthenes' "greater Fārs",⁴ it would later be included with Jībāl. Geography, population, and dialect closely bound the region to Māh rather than Fārs. The *Bundahishn*,⁵ in harmony with the wider sense of "Fahlaw" in Islamic times, even places the mountain of Behistūn "in Spāhān and Kirmān-shāhān". The actual boundary with Māh must have crossed the Ahmadān (Hamadān) – Stakhr road south of Karaj (Rapsa in *Tab. Peut.* and Ptolemy). Although Spāhān is not mentioned in this itinerary, it was an administrative centre from Parthian times.⁶ Its economic rôle perhaps

¹ Schwarz, p. 112.

² XV.2.14, 3.12.

³ Strabo XI.12.4; XVI.1.8, 17.

⁴ Strabo XV.3.1, 3; XVI.1.17; Polybius XXXI.9.

⁵ *Bundahishn*, p. 81.6; *Zand-ākāsib* IX.44 (p. 99).

⁶ Cf. *Kārnāmag ī Ardashīr ī Pābagān*, 1.2; Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 13; Kirdēr's reference in his Naqsh-i Rostam inscription (ed. W. B. Henning), line 35. On the itinerary, cf. Tomaschek, "Zur historischen Topographie von Persien I", 167ff. and Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, pp. 783–4.

grew with both the transfer of 14,000 of its inhabitants to Nisibis and the influx of transported Armenian Christians and Jews.¹ The surrounding districts were notable for their grain production.² Strabo³ noted the population as more sedentary than in the Kurdish mountains, but banditry was still prevalent.

Spāhān must have connected, to the north and east, with the Qum-Yazd road mentioned in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. This route linked the districts of cultivation and pasturage on the margin of the desert; it passed from Kāshān (Orubicaria) to Ardistān (Pustis), Nā'in (Ange), 'Aqdā (Rages, Ray), near Ardakān (Artacana), Maibud ('Tazora), and finally to Yazd (Cetrora). The border with Māh was possibly at Kāshān or Ardistān.

The population of Khūzistān (Parthian Susiana and Elymais) concentrated toward its ample river and canal system. Strabo divides the region into fertile farmlands and mountains producing fierce warriors.⁴ The ancient capital of Shūsh (Susa), by its connections with Mesopotamia, Mesene (hence with the Gulf trade), and Fārs, remained an important economic centre into the Sasanian period. It contained a mint and became the seat of a diocese by 410. Shāpūr II, who refounded the city as Ērān-khwarra-Shāpūr ("Shāpūr's Fortune of Iran"), settled many of his Roman captives in the area. Their labour was used there on such projects as the Pāy-i Pul over the Karkha (Eulaeus). Others were settled at the major city upstream from Shūsh, Karkhā dhe Lādhān (Ērānshahr-Shāpūr), which was likewise a bishopric, and perhaps also at the mint-city Nahr Tirag (Nahr Tirē). One day's journey to the east lay the provincial capital, Khūzistān-wāzār (Sūq al-Ahwāz), at the head of navigation on the Kārūn (Pasitigris) river. A bishop was already installed in this market town when Ardashīr I renamed it Hormizd-Ardashīr. The city was linked with Shūsh via the Shaur canal (the Choaspes?); and its bridge carried a southern road toward the major city in the east of the province, Rāmhumuz (Rām-Ohrmazd-Ardashīr "Ardashīr's Peace of Ohrmazd"). This early Sasanian foundation was likewise a mint and, by 410, centre of a diocese.⁵

The heavy cultivation of the Kārūn districts above Ahvāz is indicated by the dams there and at Wais, but especially by that at Shōstar (Sost-rate). Distribution of water, and transportation as well, was aided by the Masruqān (*Ardashīragān) canal.⁶ This channel descended to Ahvāz through Rustuqbādh (*Rōstāg-kawād, later 'Askar Mukram). These

¹ Markwart, *Catalogue*, 53.

³ xvi.1.18, 34.

⁵ Markwart, *Catalogue*, 46.

² Diodorus Siculus xix.26, 34.

⁴ xvi.1.17-18; cf. Pliny vi.31/133-6.

⁶ See Schwarz, p. 300.

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constructions proceeded from the reign of Ardashīr to that of Shāpūr II and probably beyond. West of the Kārūn, Shāpūr I refounded the other major city on the Shūsh-Fārs road; Bēth Lapaṭ, the province's other pre-Sasanian diocese and later seat of the metropolitan, became Jundīshāpūr (Veh-andīv-i-Shāpūr "Shāpūr's Better than Antioch"). It was "a city like Constantinople"¹ at least in its large Roman colony, begun with the captives of Valerian's army and augmented by physicians who joined the royal court there. The importance of this city had probably already been enhanced by Ardashīr's erection of the Dizful bridge over the Āb-i Diz (Coprates). This construction improved the difficult road through the mountain districts where the province adjoined Māh.² Māsabadhān (Massabatice) and Mihrajānqadhaq had been under Elymaean domination,³ but under the Sasanians they probably formed part of Māh.

The attention given to Khūzistān by the Sasanians indicates its importance. The construction of irrigation works was continued with the aim of increasing productivity. The wheat and barley crops were abundant. Sesame and dates were plentiful, and apparently trade had popularized rice there before Parthian rule.⁴ The population remained ethnically complex through the Sasanian period. In the north and east Iranians mingled with the older Elamite-Semitic people, whose individuality is expressed in the dynastic shrines at Shimbār and Tang-i Sarvak. In the west the province continued the Aramaic-speaking area; and the dramatic Arab invasion early in Shāpūr II's reign may have developed from a continual infiltration since Parthian times. Finally, some of the "Zuṭṭ" Indian tribes transported from the Sasanian eastern frontier flourished in the Rām-Ohrmazd-Ardashīr district. Given this heterogeneity of the province, its distinctiveness as a dialect area is not surprising.⁵

THE QUADRANT OF THE WEST

The Sasanian west comprised the regions largely inhabited by an Aramaic-speaking population but including both settled and nomadic Arabs. It was organized into four provinces, whose pattern was followed in the Nestorian hyparchies formalized in 410: Mēshān (Maisān); Asūristān (Bēth Armāyē); Garamīg ud Nōdardashīragān (Bēth Garmai, Hedhayyabh); Arbāyistān (Bēth 'Arbāyē).

¹ Bar Hebraeus, p. 56.

² Diodorus Siculus XIX.19.2.

³ Strabo XI.13.6; XVI.1.18.

⁴ Strabo XV.3.11; cf. Diodorus Siculus XIX.13.6 and Laufer, pp. 372-3. For India, see *Periplus*, 41.

⁵ See Lazard.

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Mēshān combined the Parthian vassal kingdoms of Mesene and Characene; it reached north along the Shaṭṭ al-‘Arab and then the lower Tigris to Madhār, possibly somewhat beyond. Its key urban centres were the three ports on the upper estuary, which eclipsed the more ancient delta port of Teredon. Farthest north lay the Alexandrian foundation eventually called Spasinou Charax (Karkha dhe Maisān). It has recently been identified with the site at Jabal Khayābir, along the ancient bed of the Karkha toward its former confluence with the Shaṭṭ.¹ Here, loosely under Parthian authority, converged caravans from Susa, Gerrha, and especially Seleucia or its emporium, Vologesias. Twelve miles downstream lay Perāt dhe Maisān. Both these cities were re-founded by Ardashīr I (*Starābād-Ardashīr and *Vahman-Ardashīr respectively), were bishoprics, and may have contained Sasanian mints. Below Perāt, the city of Apologos (Ubullā) was an official emporium in the first century A.D.² Its importance in the Gulf trade continued. The emperors Honorius and Theodosius designated it in 408/09 as the Gulf’s centre for transactions in the silk business; the Nestorian metropolitan was residing there in 424–35, rather than in Perāt.

The Semitic inhabitants of this region are divided by Strabo into “Chaldeans” (Aramaic-speakers) and Mesian Arabas.³ The raiding, nomadic Arabs to the west must have added to the population, and the Nabataean and Palmyrene merchants as well. Not only Iranians settled there under the Sasanians, but some of the transported Zuṭṭ. The latter were more numerous toward the swamps of Asūristān; they included the Sābaj – if not Indians, possibly Malays taken captive in Hind or recruited there as sailors.⁴ The idol of Zūn seen by the invading Arabs at Ubullā may have belonged to a colony of deportees or of merchants from the Indian frontier.⁵ The province was notably fertile, the best one for barley, according to Strabo.⁶ Sesame oil was produced, and dates in abundance. The 19th-century estimate of 2,150,000 date-palms between Baṣra and Muhammara and beyond it may well be less than the number in the Sasanian period.⁷ Already Strabo knew of a “Persian song” extolling the many uses of the date-palm; the Middle Persian *Drakht ī asūrīg* is perhaps only one version. Many of the dried dates imported into the Roman empire may well have been grown in Mēshān.⁸

From its days as the Seleucid “eparchy of the Red Sea”,⁹ Mēshān

¹ See Hansman, pp. 21–58; cf. Pliny vi.31/138. ² *Periplus*, 35.

³ xvi.1.8; see also Pliny vi.32/143.

⁴ See de Goeje, *Mémoire*.

⁵ Markwart, “Das Reich Zābul”.

⁶ xvi.1.14.

⁷ Lorimer, p. 2298.

⁸ Diocletian’s tariff ed. Blümner, 6.81.

⁹ Polybius v.46.7

played a vital rôle in the sea trade along the Gulf and on to India. But neither the Seleucids nor the Parthians achieved Alexander's ambition of unifying the coast.¹ Perhaps the Arabian port of Gerrha was as much a partner of Charax and Apologos as a rival. Some Mesenians lived there;² they could have been active in importing from Arabia Felix and Africa aromatics, ivory, and such curiosities as the ostriches presented by a Parthian embassy to the Chinese in A.D. 101. A more serious rival may have been Ommana.³ If that city lay on the north shore of the Gulf, possibly in the Hurmuz straits, it would have diverted trade to the kingdom of Persis;⁴ goods would then have been carried overland to Seleucia. Ommana received cargoes of Arabian aromatics and of ebony, teak, and sandal from the Indian port of Barygaza (Broach). Other merchandise could have reached Ommana or Mēshān from Barbaricum, the major port on the Indus.⁵

Roman rivalry in the sea trade with India became increasingly serious after the monsoons became utilized for direct sailing to Barygaza, Muziris (Cranganore), and down the Malabar coast;⁶ Arab intermediaries were no longer necessary. By the end of the 1st century A.D., some Roman ships were reaching the Ganges and the Golden Chersonesus of Malaya.⁷ It is hardly surprising that a Roman "embassy" had reached China from India by 166. Its exports, such as amber, coral, copper, tin, glass, and woolen fabrics, were already reaching Oc-eo, the entrepôt of the Fu-man kingdom on the Mekong. Of the goods which remained in India, some moved north to the Kushān kingdom, perhaps accompanied by a considerable amount of specie. The Kushāns, in return, directed a share of the Chinese and Central Asian land trade to Indian ports. The range of goods exported to Roman Egypt and to Mēshān (where a few Kushān coins have been found) emerges from the *Periplus* and the 3rd-century Alexandrian tariff-list.⁸ "Indian drugs, spices" are the most numerous items, including pepper, ginger, cinnamon and cassia, aloes, galbanum, assafoetida, malabathrum and spikenard. Precious and semi-precious stones, pearls, ivory, and tortoise-shell formed another major category. Fabrics included silks, cottons, and muslins; silk thread was also shipped, and perhaps another type of thread named "Indian hair". "Indian steel", "Indian lions and lionesses" are also mentioned. Fur pelts were brought from Trans-

¹ Strabo XVI.1.9-11.

² Strabo XVI.3.3.

³ See p. 772, and *Periplus*, 36.

⁴ Cf. *Periplus*, 36 and pp. 150ff; and Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 481-5.

⁵ *Periplus*, 38-9.

⁶ Pliny VI.26/100-1.

⁷ Hence the data of *Periplus* 62-5 and Ptolemy VII.2-3.

⁸ Hill, p. cxcvi. *Digests*, ed. Krieger, 39.16.7.

oxiana and Central Asia. It is perhaps these "Seric skins"¹ and "Tokhār martens"² which the tariff list terms "Babylonian furs, Parthian furs".

Sasanian control of the trade route through Tukhāristān was complemented by hegemony in the Gulf and as far as the Indus. The south shore of the Persian Gulf, from Baḥrain at least as far as Cape Macae³ at the straits, was formed into the province of Mazōn. While 'Umān was important enough to be organized as a diocese, the majority of Iranian and Mesenian residents apparently concentrated around Baḥrain. Ardashīr, in order to secure the region, founded the city of Paniyāt-Ardashīr on the coast, in the district of Qaṭīf.⁴ The city functioned as a bishopric by 576; two others were on the islands of Tārūt and Muḥarraḡ. The seat of government, however, was Gerrha (Hajar); in late Sasanian times it had a community of Jews as well as of Zoroastrians and Nestorians.⁵ The Sasanians thus controlled the beds of pearls so highly esteemed in Sanskrit lapidaries. Other likely exports to India (and to Oc-eo) are the products noted by Hsüan-Tsiang: carpets, finished silk and woolen fabrics, garments of felt and skin.

Roman trade with India continued in the Sasanian period. Thus the "scholasticus of Thebes" journeyed to Malabar not long before 350; and an Indian embassy reached Julian in 362.⁶ For the 6th century, Cosmas Indicopleustes depicts the rivalry of Axumite and Byzantine merchants with the Persians on the west coast ("India Interior"); and it was through India that monks reached Central Asia and smuggled back silkworm eggs.⁷ But at that time it was the Iranians who dominated the Indian ports,⁸ and the Christians there were under the church hyparchy of Fārs. The continuing involvement of Iran with India is indicated by the exchange of embassies between Khusrau II and the king of the Deccan.⁹

North of Mēshān, the province of Asūristān formed "the heart of Ērānshahr".¹⁰ The road to the capital ran between the swamps and the Tigris through the district of Kaskar. West of the swampland and of the Euphrates, Shāpūr I's foundation of Hīrt (Hīra) guarded the frontier of the nomadic Arabs, as had Alexander's foundation in this region.¹¹ It served both commercial and military movement along the Euphrates. The north-western frontier of the province, along the

¹ *Periplus*, 39.

³ Strabo XVI.3.2.

⁵ Balādhuri, pp. 78-81; Hitti, pp. 120-3.

⁷ Procopius, *Wars* VIII.17.1-8.

⁹ Nöldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 371-2; Hādi Ḥasan, pp. 88ff. and plate.

¹⁰ See, e.g., Barbier de Meynard, p. 63.

² *Drakht i Asūrig*, p. 112, para. 42.

⁴ Ḥamza, p. 33.

⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus XXII.7.10.

⁸ Procopius, *Wars* I.20.9-12.

¹¹ Arrian VII.21.7.

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Euphrates road, was at or near the juncture of the Great Khābūr; on the right bank of the latter river lay Circesium, the southern bastion of the Roman *limes*. On the Tigris, the province extended to Shennā dhe Bēth Remmān (Sinn of Bārimma) at the Little Zāb's juncture. South of Kirkūk and Shahrāzūr, its boundary extended to the Zagros frontier and Māh province.

The urban development of Asūristān under the Iranians focussed on the demographic centre of the province. The town of Tēsḥōn (Ctesiphon), opposite Seleucia, was developed as a base for Parthian control.¹ The rebellion of Seleucia in A.D. 36-43 led Valgash (Vologeses) I to establish a new emporium, Vologesocerta, several miles below that city; it lay strategically on the Royal Canal (Nahr al-Malik) and served the Palmyrene caravans descending the Euphrates or ascending from Bābil. As Valāshābād (Sābāt), it formed a suburb of the Sasanian capital. Seleucia itself was refounded by Ardashīr as Veh-Ardashīr (Bahurasīr). A royal paradise was built there, and its mint indicates its economic rôle. Across the Tigris, Ctesiphon, the other member of Māḥōzē (Madā'in), was probably the place mentioned as the "City of Asūr" in *Shabristānīhā i Ērān*.² It acquired several satellite towns: Asbānabr (Asfānūr) lay one mile to the south; in between, Khusrau I settled some of his Roman prisoners at Veh-az-Andīv-Khusrau ("Khusrau's Better than Antioch"), hence its common name, Rūmiyā. It formed a diocese distinct from the metropolitan's residence at Māḥōzē. Another suburb, Hanbū-Shāpūr (Janbsābūr), is attributed to Kavād.

Especially important to the Iranians was the ancient road from the capital into Māh; this route brought the silk caravans to Mesopotamia and served the movements of armies, officials, and the court. The road left the capital district of Khusrau-shād-Ohrmazd and entered *Bāzīgān-Khusrau; this district included the heavily populated and intensively cultivated cantons along the Nahravān canal. Farther northeast lay the Parthian district Apolloniatis and its capital Artemita (Chalasar). Hormizd I refounded the city as Dastigird (Daskara), whose royal residence was particularly important under the Khusraus. Khusrau I built there "a court, palace, (and) fort";³ the district was then termed Khusrau-shād-Kavād. Here a road from Takrīt joined the eastward highway, which continued through Gālūl (Jalūlā) into the district Chalonitis (Shād-Pērōz-Kavād). The stations Khāniqīn and Qaşr-i

¹ Strabo XVI.1.16.

² Markwart, *Catalogue*, 52.

³ *Ibid.*, 20.

Shīrīn led to the city of Ḥulwān (Albania) at the entrance into the mountains and Māh province. Along with its importance as a market, Ḥulwān must have served as a major base for the spread of Christianity in Māh; Roman prisoners were probably settled in the adjoining dioceses of Balāshfarr and Captivity of Balāshfarr. Other Sasanian constructions also existed along or near this highway.¹

The Parthian western highway described by Isidore formed one route for the flow of trade to Roman Mesopotamia and Syria. From Seleucia or Vologesocerta the road followed the Royal Canal to its origin at the Euphrates. The market town there was Nehardea, at or near Isidore's Neapolis. Under both the Parthians and Sasanians, Nehardea was the outstanding economic and intellectual centre among the numerous communities of Jews concentrated toward central Mesopotamia. The other major city on the Euphrates was Massice (Besechana in Isidore) at the opening of the Nahr 'Īsā canal. It served the Sasanians as a granary, arms depot, and customs house and so acquired the name Anbār. Shāpūr I bestowed the honorific Pērōz-Shāpūr to commemorate his defeat of Gordian in 244. Perhaps Roman prisoners contributed to the construction of the double wall and citadel which, in Shāpūr II's reign, withstood Julian's siege.² It was a bishopric by 420.

The alternative route northward offered a choice. From Ctesiphon one could follow the left bank of the Tigris to Baghdād. This market town lay in the same Bādūrayā district as Anbār at the other end of the Nahr 'Īsā. Ten *frasangs* above it was 'Ukbarā, which Shāpūr I refounded as *Vuzurg-Shāpūr and settled with Roman captives. Beyond was the district Tīrhān, in which the road crossed the Tigris to reach Takrīt (Peloriarca in *Tabula Peutingeriana*). From there the Tigris route led to Garamaea, while the northwesterly route along the Wadi Tharthar brought one to Singara via Ḥatra. East from Takrīt, besides the road to Dastigird, ran a direct road to Ḥulwān. The alternative route to Takrīt began at Seleucia and was especially popular under the Parthians. The road ran through the desert west of the Tigris, avoiding the heavy tolls along the river.³ It was supplied with cisterns and administered well by the Scenite Arabs of the region. The road ran through their city, Scenae, perhaps the "Monumenta Regum" of *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

Along the roads of Asūristān moved the bulk of Iranian trade with the west and also the flow of communications with the west, especially

¹ See Markwart, *Catalogue*, 19 and pp. 59-60.

² Ammianus Marcellinus xxiv.2.9-17.

³ Strabo xvi.1.26.

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among the Christian and Jewish minorities. Additions to the population, besides an influx of Iranians, came largely from continuing Arab infiltration and the Sasanian settlements of Roman captives and deportees. There were also incidental additions, such as the Ghassānids' sale of their Samaritan captives as slaves. The heavy population of Asūristān was supported by its agricultural wealth. While road-tolls and tariffs provided useful revenue, especially to the Sasanians, the Sasanian state was supported primarily by its levies on population and productive resources. Perhaps the cultivation of wheat and barley was so extensive that it made possible the low produce-tax (*kharāj*), cited for Khusrau I's reign, of one dirham per *jarīb* of land.¹ The less important rice crop received a lower rate, while vegetables were exempt. Although the rates of seven and eight dirhams on vines and on alfalfa seem substantial, they may reflect the high value of these crops. The low rate on date and olive trees should indicate the cheapness of their commodities. It was probably a "common" rather than a "quality" date-palm which the Talmud valued at $3\frac{1}{3}$ dirham; the tax-rate given for these is one dirham per cluster of six.²

The Parthians and Sasanians continued the maintenance and development of the ancient irrigation canals from the Dujail in the north to the *Shāpūr-kandag, which continued into Mēshān. The fragility of this agricultural system had been noted by Strabo:³ Silting of the canals had to be prevented by regular cleaning. The springtime rise in the rivers had to be controlled to prevent flooding; but runoff had to be limited to preserve a summer water supply. In Kavād's reign, a dam of the Kaskar district was breached, and many fields were inundated. Khusrau I was attentive to the irrigation system. But near the end of Khusrau II's reign, the rivers underwent extraordinary floods. Attempts to repair the damage failed, and the subsequent Arab invasion further delayed recovery of the lost croplands.⁴

North of Asūristān between the Tigris, the Little Khābūr, and the mountains of Ādurbādagān (Āzarbāijān) lay the Sasanian province Garamīg ud Nōdardashīragān. This region gave access to Mesopotamia from the northern provinces and so had commercial and military importance. Its two leading cities, Karkha dhe Bēth Selōkh (Kirkūk) and Irbīl, were seats of Nestorian metropolitans. Ardashīr refounded

¹ Mas'ūdī, II, p. 204; Nöldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 244-6.

² Neusner, *History* III, p. 302. ³ XVI.1.9-10.

⁴ Balādhurī, pp. 291-3; Hitti, pp. 453-4.

QUADRANT OF THE WEST

Hazza, near the latter, as the provincial capital of Nōdardashīr. Both Irbīl and Kirkūk were major points of communication between the Tigris plain and the mountains. Through them passed the Nisibis–Hulwān road. The crossing of this road into northern Adiabene became the Sasanian foundation *Pērōz-Shāpūr (Faishābūr). Perhaps Khābūr-Kavādh was founded in its vicinity and also was located on this road.¹ With this highway connected a road through Gordyene from the Bezabhdē crossing. As it approached and crossed the Great Zāb, one or more lateral roads presumably joined it from the Tigris cities of Niniveh and Naukird (Hadītha). From the Tigris crossing at the latter city, a road ran to Singara. To the south, on the Little Zāb, the city Bawāzīj al-Malik formed a border-station of the province. Eastward from Irbīl, a road into the mountains eventually reached the Atropatenian highway in the Jaghatū valley. This route may well have been used by the Christian missions to the Caspian region and eastward; it also rendered the province vulnerable to invasion by the tribes of the Caspian mountains or by Roman and Byzantine armies descending from Armenia. Eastward from Kirkūk, the extent of the Garamīg districts was probably to the diocese of Shahrzūr.

The province of Arbāyistān reached across upper Mesopotamia toward the Khābūr and north to the lower districts of Armenia. The relative extent of Roman and Iranian spheres of influence here fluctuated greatly in the Parthian and early Sasanian periods. The concessions of Jovian in 363 eliminated the eastward bulge of Roman control along the two major east-west highways. Iranian domination was extended to the Great Khābūr along the trade route from Singara toward Syria. To the north, territory was gained to Nisibis and beyond on the road to Resaina; but Rhabdium, on the southern edge of the Ṭūr ‘Abdīn mountains, remained a Roman outpost. The route connecting these two highways was also surrendered to the Sasanians; but the Roman foundation of Dara helped defend the continuation of the northern highway and also its branch to Amida.

The massive Roman fortifications of Singara made it a valuable defensive post. Kavād settled nearby the Qadishāyē, who were perhaps Kurds or other mountaineers intended to better secure the region. Nisibis, however, was better suited as a trade centre. Its access to Syria was easier and it lay in a fertile district receiving an abundant water supply. Here were concentrated the Iranian colonists. The city

¹ *Tabula Peutingeriana*: Ad Flumen Tigrim – Thelser – Albania.

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was an official market for Roman–Iranian trade, along with Callinicum on the Euphrates route and Artaxata on the Armenian route. The products of Iran, imports through the Indian and Arabian sea-trade, and silks brought by the overland caravans assembled at Nisibis for sale to Roman merchants. The vigour of this commerce is indicated by the Romans' September trade fair at Batnae, before the designation of official markets.¹ The silk trade, which supplied the weaving industry of Syria, continued to be especially lucrative. It was maintained despite the frequency of war, when Arab auxiliaries of both sides often raided along the roads. An additional threat, particularly from the Sasanians, was the massive deportation of citizens from major captured cities, e.g., Callinicum in 542.² Justinian and Khusrau I affirmed Nisibis and Dara as centres for the silk trade, although war had brought higher prices and higher Sasanian duties.³

THE QUADRANT OF THE NORTH

The north-west

The Sasanian northland consisted of Māh and the Caspian districts plus the north-west region. The north-west Iranian ethnic and linguistic frontier lay in the province of Media Atropatene (Ādurbādagān). Its territory included the districts and road west of Lake Urmīya north to the Araxes. In the east it was bounded by the plain of Balāsagān (Mūqān), the mountains of Gēlān, and the Safīdrūd – whether before or beyond Zanjān. To the south the province merged with central Media (Māh). Its mountains were thus accessible for the movements of the Kurds and other western mountain tribes and of the Caspian tribes. Its major highway crossed the province, east of Lake Urmīya, from Hamadān toward Artaxata. Iranian trade passed this way to the Caucasus,⁴ and it served as a military route from the campaign of Tigranes II to that of Heraclius. The group of seven stations depicted in *Tabula Peutingeriana* across the mountains from Ḥulwān must begin in the Jaghatū valley: Nicea Nialia could be Barza, where the road to the Gādir valley and Urmīya diverged. The main road continued to or by Laylān, possibly the Atropatenian capital of Ganzag-i Shīzigān (Gazaca). To the east of this stretch of road, a route along the Sārūq river led to the cult site of the Karafto caves and on to Takht-i Sulaimān and the city of Shīz.

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus XIV.3.3.

² Procopius, *Wars* II.21.31–2; *Anecdota* III.31; XVIII.5.

³ *Ibid.* XXV.6.

⁴ Strabo XI.5.8.

This summer residence of the Parthian kings contained, under the Sasanians, the great shrine of the foundation Ādur Gushnasp. North of Ganzag lay the stronghold of Praaspa/Phraata (later Afrāza/Marāgha), which resisted Antony's siege in 36 B.C. The subsequent route to Artaxata seems to have been via Marand and Khūy, then following the Atropatenian bank of the Araxes.¹

Toward Gilān lay Ardabil, "City of Ādurbādagān".² It secured the road into Balāsagān and Albania, which offered an invasion route to Alans, and later Huns, coming from the Caspian Gates. It was reached from Māh via Zanjān. The latter city was a major crossroads; a north-westerly route ran to the crossing of the Araxes at Julfa. This is possibly the Lazo-Sanora road sketched in *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

Armenia and the kingdoms of the Caucasus had acquired an Iranian element in their populations from the early Scythian invasion,³ and Alan incursions into Armenia and Atropatene must have added to this minority. Thus the southeast district of Armenia could be named Sacasene; farther north, Ptolemy's Siracene indicates an influx of the nomadic Siraci, who were adjacent to the Alans.⁴ The diffusion of Iranian mountain tribes into Armenia from the south would have been encouraged by the Parthian and Sasanian policy of employing them in their north-western campaigns. In northern Armenia, the Iranian-Roman rivalry for political domination was exercised along the principal east-west highway. Artaxata was the key crossroads in Iranian control. An eastern road descended the Araxes from it to Julfa (Sanora in *Tabula Peutingeriana*), where the road from Atropatene connected. The highway continued into Albania toward the Caspian. It apparently followed the coast into Gilān to Cyropolis (Rasht), then turned inland along the Safidrūd to Atropatene. Northwest from Artaxata, a branch highway ran to the upper course of the Kur, reaching Georgia and, from there, Colchis. The westerly road from Artaxata proceeded through the Bagrevand district to the Qara-şu branch of the Euphrates and secure Roman control. The Byzantine frontier city of Kārin (Theodosiopolis, Erzerum), near or at the old station Tharsidarate, served as a defensive bastion and offensive base against Iran. To the south, the vague border between the Roman and Sasanian spheres ran through the mountains. Here, according to Procopius, subjects of both empires mingled freely and shared a common market for their produce.

¹ Cf. Miller, p. 781.

² Markwart, *Catalogue*, 56.

³ Herodotus iv.1ff.

⁴ Strabo xi.2.1.

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South of the mountains, however, ran a second major highway; the Melitene–Amida road crossed the Tigris and continued to the vicinity of Bitlis. Continuing north, it joined the Artaxata road at or before Bagavan (*Bagauna). The major link of this southern highway to Nisibis and the Arbāyistān road was from Tigranocerta; this city was probably refounded as Martyropolis (Maiferqat). After the peace of 363, it defended the Roman frontier of the Nymphius (Batman-şū) river; at that time the districts from Arzanene to Gordyene and the boundary of Nōdardashīragān returned permanently to Sasanian control.¹

The establishment of Sasanian predominance in the Caucasus provided an added weapon against Rome. In Iberia, the dynasty of governors (*bidakhsh*, *pitiakhsh*) established at Harmozica (Armazi) protected the route along the Kur and also the northerly route along the Aragus (Aragvi) to the Darial pass – the Iberian/Caucasus/Alan Gates. Beyond, says Strabo, lay “the country of the nomads”.² At this point, penetration of the nomads could be barred. However, as pressure from the Hun tribes mounted from the late 4th century, the payment of subsidies must have formed an equally important defence.³ The Huns also proved useful auxiliaries, as in Khusrau I’s Lazic war. But, though he admitted Hun tribes, to Khusrau is also attributed the fortification of several sites around Tiflis – Gardman, Sughdabil, and al-Lāl. By that time a substantial number of Iranians were settled in this region; Khusrau’s imposition of direct rule had probably brought numerous civilians, along with troops and officials. Thus the tradition of St Eustace depicts Persian shoemakers living in Mtskheta, observing their own religion and customs. Some of these immigrants to the empire’s frontier may have been adapting to the local culture when they converted to Christianity.

From the Kur, the trade route crossed the mountain passes to the Phasis (Rioni) and followed a difficult route along the river. At the head of navigation lay the border fort of Sarapana. As the road continued to Sebastopolis (Phasis) it received the road from Armenia through the country of the Tzani mountaineers.⁴ Given the commercial and strategic value of Machelonia (Lazica),⁵ it formed a natural target for Shāpūr I and Khusrau I. A Scythian Iranian minority, the Sacani (Sacasani), already lived among the population of Laz- and Mingrelian-

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus xxv.7.9.

² xi.3.5.

³ See Procopius, *Wars* viii.11.22–5; *Anecdota* ii.29; viii.5–6; xi.5.

⁴ *Tab. Pent.* and Procopius, *Wars* ii.29.14–18.

⁵ Strabo xi.2.17; Procopius, *Wars* ii.28.

speaking Caucasians; and the city of Siganeum (Sicanabris) lay on the coast road south of Phasis. From these people derived the Sasanian name for Shāpūr's protectorate over this region, Sigān. But probably few western Iranians reached this region except during Khusrau I's occupation. The Phasis road was improved to accommodate Iranian cavalry and elephants but the king was unable to establish his authority and plant Iranian colonies while transporting numbers of Laz.¹

The most pressing threat to Iran from the Alan and Hun nomads came from the Caspian route. Shāpūr I's province-list therefore separates the Caspian shore from the subject kingdom of Ar(r)ān (Parthian Ardān; Albania).² It formed the province Balāsagān, which extended from Gilān to the Caspian/Albanian/Chol Gates at Darband. It presumably included the lower Araxes plain. Groups of Alans probably settled in this area, e.g., those repulsed from Armenia in 335–6. The increasing numbers of Huns settled around the Gates in the 5th century somewhat eroded Sasanian control; but Kavād reaffirmed it.³ His wall and foundation of *Pērōz-Kavād in Shirvān prepared for Khusrau I's massive fortification of Darband (Bāb al-Abwāb). To secure his barrier across the coastal plain, Khusrau may have transported some tribes here, besides using local ones. Thus the hereditary commanders he appointed at the wall bore such titles as Shirvānshāh, Alānshāh, Filānshāh, Baghrānshāh.⁴ Kavād and Khusrau also strengthened other defences against the Huns. To Kavād is attributed the foundation of Bailaqān and Barda'a, the major Albanian cities on the road to Iberia from Ardabil (via Barzand and Warthān). Near Bailaqān, Khusrau founded Karkar.

The north

The Caspian districts of Media formed a distinct geographical and ethnic region of Iran and tended toward political independence. Thus the "Letter of Tansar" represents King Gushnasp, at the beginning of the Sasanian period, as king of Gilān, Dēlam (Dailam) and Rūyān, Ṭabaristān, and Danbāvand. This region formed the vassal kingdom, later province, of Parishkhwār (Parachoathras) Mountains, or in Book Pahlavī Padishkhwār (Fthasouar).⁵ Its major city, Rasht (Cyropolis), must have lain on the Parthian roads to the Araxes and into Atropatene.

¹ Procopius, *Wars* VIII.13.

² Cf. Strabo XI.4; Ptolemy V.10.

³ Procopius, *Wars* I.10.1–16.

⁴ Ḥamza, p. 40.

⁵ *Bundahishn*, 78.15–79.1; *Zand-ākāsib* IX.20 (p. 97); Pahlavi *Vidēvdād/Vendīdād* (ed. H. Jamasp), I.17; Boyce, *The Letter of Tansar*, pp. 30–1 and p. 29, note 7.

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By this route Christianity could have reached the Gēls as early as the 2nd century, although it became a diocese only in the sixth. To the south, via Shād Shāpūr (Qazvīn), the Māh highway was accessible. Āmul in Ṭabaristān connected with the highway, through Danbāvand, and also communicated with Gurgān. The 20 foundations referred to in *Shabristānīhā ī Ērān*¹ might be fortifications built between the reigns of Yazdgard II and Khusrau I. A threat to Parishkhwār then existed from the Hun tribes of the Caucasus and especially from the Čol and Kidarites above Gurgān. The city Sāriya on the Gurgān road was probably made such a defensive point.

Parishkhwār was notable for the persisting of the non-Iranian substrate within its population. These people were generally termed Anēr, Strabo's Anariacae. In the west of the province, the Iranian Gēls, who were noted warriors,² dwelt in the coastal plain; their city Varna lay near the corner of the Caspian.³ The Caspii themselves had been driven into the mountains. Next, to the east, lived the Cadusians, apparently mingled with the Gēls; they dwelt from the coast into the mountains.⁴ The non-Iranian Amardi (Mardi) continued to inhabit the Āmul region, although Phraates I had transported some to guard the Caspian Gates of Media. They were, however, mingled with the Tapurians, who had been transported there from Parthyene. Between the Āmul (Amardus) river and the bay of Gurgān lived more non-Iranians, the Amariacae and Dribices. By Sasanian times these latter tribes were probably merging with Iranians into a common Māzan population. A gloss on *Vidēvdād* 1.17 would include the Dēlam in the substrate of western Parishkhwār.

The adjoining Sasanian province of Māh, the core of Media, was noted for its Iranian mountain tribes, which doubtless also contained non-Iranian elements. The transhumance of Māh was continuous with that of the neighbouring provinces to north and south. Thus the tribes of the Alburz mountains ranged into Atropatene,⁵ while the Carduchi (Gordyaei) ranged eastward into it from southern Armenia.⁶ The general term Cossaei designates the various Zagros tribes of Māh.⁷ Hence it may include the Cyrtii (possibly true Kurds), who ranged south into Pārs, the Sagartii near the Zagros Gates, and the Gōrīg (Gūrān) in the same region. The independent "Dolomites" who fought

¹ Markwart, *Catalogue*, 28.

³ Ptolemy VI.2.

⁵ Strabo XI.13.3.

⁷ Strabo XI.13.6; XVI.1.13.

² Ammianus Marcellinus XVII.5.1.

⁴ Strabo XI.8.8.

⁶ Ptolemy, *loc. cit.*

QUADRANT OF THE EAST

in Lazica¹ were probably from these or other Māh tribes. *Shahristānīhā ī Ērān* places three "mountain-rulers" in western Māh at Nihāvand, Vīsitūn, and Dēnabārān.²

The Iranian empire's principal highway to the east entered Māh behind Hūlwān. The first city on the Parthian road was Bagastāna (Bisutūn). Bahrām IV's foundation of Kirmānshāh supplied another major station and a link with the north-south road through Dēnabārān (Dīnavar). Just before Conco-bar (Kangāvar), the highway left "Lower" for "Upper" Media. On the approach to the capital lay the Parthian customs-house, Bāzigrabān, and the residence of the dynasty of governors at Adrapana. Hamadān, "the metropolis of Media",³ continued to form a vital crossroads. It lay on the Stakhr-Artaxata route and the Khūzistān road via Nihāvand. An easterly branch ran to Sāva (*Sevacina) and Qum (Thermantica in *Tab. Pent.*). The latter formed a strong post on the road which followed the verge of the desert from Ray to Yazd. (A Sasanian foundation, Bahrām Gōr, may have lain on the Qum-Karaj road.⁴ From Hamadān, the main highway passed, via Āba, to the heavily populated and cultivated district Rhagiana.⁵ From its foundation as Seleucid Europus and Parthian Arsacia, the city of Rhagae (Ray) guarded the eastern border of the province. At the "Caspian Gates" through the southwest spur of the Alburz, the highway passed into Abarshahr. Control of the western end of the pass was strengthened by construction of Charax and other towns and settlement of Pratitae tribesmen as well as Amardi.⁶

THE QUADRANT OF THE EAST

The east

The fertile lowlands of Hyrcania (Gurgān)⁷ were a highly permeable frontier with the nomadic tribes east of the Caspian. The Dahae had occupied the region in Achaemenian times from their plain of Dihistān. The Aparni clans then followed the road along the upper Atrek into Parthava, renaming that province Abarshahr, "realm of the Aparni".⁸ Perhaps some Sacaraucae migrated there in the 2nd century B.C., or else it was the Dahae who founded Sace and Sinica.⁹ From the late 4th century A.D., Chol and Kidarite Huns pressed upon the province

¹ Procopius, *Wars* VIII.14.

² Markwart, *Catalogue*, 29.

³ Isidore, 6.

⁴ Markwart, *Catalogue*, 27.

⁵ Strabo XI.13.7.

⁶ Pliny VI.17/44.

⁷ Strabo XI.7.2.

⁸ *Bundahishn*, p. 233.15; *Zand-ākāsib* xxxv.42 (p. 299).

⁹ Ptolemy VI.9.

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from Dihistān and sought to follow the road to Māh. From the reign of Yazdgard II, periodic campaigns were necessary to contain their penetration within the province.

The city of Astarābād, Ptolemy's "metropolis of Hyrcania", lay on the Parthian main highway. It may also, particularly in an independent Hyrcania after c. 50 A.D., have shared in the trade which avoided Parthian control. The Kushāns, as mediators of the Chinese and Indian overland trade, dealt with the Aorsi kingdom as well as with the Parthians. Goods were transported through Sughd to Khwarazm, then west to the Caspian coast; for the first stage, the Oxus may have been used, as well as the caravan routes.¹ Hyrcania could have offered an alternative, land route to Armenia via Parishkhwār.

The Parthian highway reached Hyrcania through the western districts of Abarshahr, Choarene (Khuvār) and Comisene (Qūmis). Semina (in Ptolemy) (Simnān) probably formed a station between Apameia (Khuvār) and the crossroads of Hecatompylus (Dāmghān). This foundation of the Seleucids, Parthians, and Sasanians functioned throughout as a key defensive centre: Yazdgard II made it "a strong border-post of that quarter among the marauding Chol".² From it the eastern road to Tōs (Tūs) continued through Bistām. A northerly road from Hecatompylus to Tagae³ then crossed the mountains to Catippa or Casape (in Ptolemy) (Astarābād). The highway traversed the plain of the Gurgān river and re-entered Abarshahr in the district Astauene (Ustuvā). Its stations there included Stai (Simalgān) and Asaac (in Isidorus) or Arsace (in Pliny)⁴ (Kūchān), the early capital of the Arsacids. Along the Kāsp (Kashaf) river the middle road to Harēv (Herāt) ran through Sousia (in Arrian) (Tōs) and Oscandati – the district Asfand and city Farhādgird. In this crossroads district connected the western Harēv road from Dāmghān via Khusrujird or further north through the Juvain district. On that road, the Sasanian foundation of Nēv-Shāpūr (Abarshahr) was founded by one or both of the first two Shāpūrs. It formed a more secure administrative centre than Tōs, particularly during the later incursions of Hephthalites and Turks; both cities had become bishoprics in the 5th century. Near Nēv-Shāpūr, at Rīvand, the Sasanian Fire Burzēn-mihr succeeded the Parthians' foundation at Arsace.

From Arsace the northern road of Abarshahr was reached at Par-

¹ Pliny VI.19/52.

³ Polybius X.29.3.

² Markwart, *Catalogue*, 18.

⁴ VI.29/113.

thaunisa, i.e., Nisaea (Alexandropolis) in "the fine district of Parthyena".¹ (The village Saphri was apparently the dividing point of the routes to Tōs and to Nisā from Hyrcania.) Nisā flourished as a major city on the frontier with the nomadic Dahae and Sakas. It was joined to Marv, toward the eastern frontier, by a chain of other cities. In its own district were Gathar and Siroc. The region of the Tajand river formed the district Apavarcticena; it contained the cities Apavarctica (Abivard), Ragau, and Dara (Dareium). From Marv ran the eastern road to Harēv and probably a route to the Kashaf river via Siracena² (Sarakhs). The prosperity of Parthian Parthyena and Apavarcticena indicates full exploitation of water resources and successful containment of the neighbouring nomads at that time.

From Asfand, Harēv was approached through the Zām district and the station Asbana. The Hari river was, like the Murghāb, extensively used for irrigation; and so it supported a heavy population.³ Strabo⁴ cites its abundant wine-production. Other cities in the region of Harēv (Alexandria) itself were Candac, Artacauan, and Apameia. Shāpūr I added to these, or perhaps refounded one, as Pūshang; and there he bridged the Hari. The capital itself was a vital point of administration and of communications toward Bactria, India, and Sagistān. The Parthians, in holding it, were able to channel the Sacarauca migration to the south. The Sasanians, in losing it after Pērōz's defeat, left western Abarshahr (Kūhistān) open to Hephthalite penetration. Like Marv, with which it was connected by a road through Vādgēs (Bādghis), Harēv had become a bishopric by 424. Ardashīr's foundation in Vādgēs probably helped secure the road. That flourishing district, "full of trees and verdure"⁵ was itself a bishopric in the 6th century. A northeasterly road to Bactria connected Harēv with the Balkh-Bāmiyān road to Ortospana, which was apparently between Kapiśa and Kabul. Harēv thus shared in the Indian trade as well as the Chinese; Chang K'ien attributed to it the same coins, trade goods, and weapons as in Kashmir.

Southward from Harēv, one reached the first important city of Sagistān at Propasta (Phra, Frāh, Farah). A shorter route to this city from Hecatompylus or Tagae ran farther to the west. The two stations recorded in *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Palitas (Paligas in Ravennas Anonymus) and Parhe, were identified by W. Tomaschek with Bardaskan and

¹ *Ibid.*

² Ptolemy, *loc. cit.*

³ Pliny VI.25/93.

⁴ XI.10.1.

⁵ *Bundahishn*, p. 79.3-4; *Zand-ākāsib* IX.22 (p. 97).

Turbat-i Haidarī. These followed the probable station of Biyārjumand. The route continued through Zūzan and may have converged with the Harēv–Frāh road or have paralleled it south from Mandal. Caravan routes crossing or branching from this road reached the Sasanian city of Kāyin and continued on to the frontier of the province with the desert of Kirmān – the districts of Ṭabas, Khūr, and Bīrjand.

Adjoining Harēv province, that of Marv centred similarly on its river, the Margus (Murghāb), although a lesser population was supported. Isidore calls Marv “well-watered” but states there were no villages.¹ Strabo² notes the suitability of the soil for viticulture but also the nearness of the desert. The city of Marv (Antiochia) was connected in commerce and communications with Bukhārā and Samarqand. Having served the Parthians as a defence against the Sakas, it became the seat of the Sasanian Kushānshāhs; and it probably remained a co-capital of Kushānshahr, as well as a mint, after the occupation of Balkh. With the ascendance of the Kidarite Huns c. 375, followed by the Hephthalites, Marv again became a strategic frontier-post. As an economic and political base, it served the dissemination of Manichaeism already in Mānī’s lifetime. Christianity was established there by Shāpūr II’s reign; and missions proceeded on to Tukhāristān and to Trans-oxiana. The defensive capacity of Marv in later Sasanian times was probably strengthened by foundations such as Sāsānjird and Khusrau-shāh.

Bahrām V’s foundation of Marv-i Rōd³ secured the Balkh–Harēv road against the Hephthalites and helped protect the Marv–Harēv road. The boundary, at least officially, with Kidarite and Hephthalite Tukhāristān ran through the mountains of Gōzgān (Hu-shi-kien), where horses were raised in abundance. Ṭāliqān was the border-station on the Balkh road. The more easterly cities of *Shābūragān (Shaburqān) and Anbār were probably third- or fourth-century foundations along the alternative routes from Ṭāliqān to Balkh.

The Sasanian province of Kushānshahr centred on Tukhāristān, from Tirmidh to Pishkabūr (Peshawar). Shāpūr I, at least, exerted authority “as far as the borders of Kash (Kāshghar), Sughd, and Shāsh (Tāshkent)”.⁴ The trade routes out of Central Asia thus passed into Sasanian control. Nevertheless the Kushānshāh governors respected the cultural and economic ties of Tukhāristān with northern India by issuing coinage on the Kushān gold standard and weight. The

¹ Isidore, 14.

² *Loc. cit.* XI.10.1.

³ Markwart, *Catalogue*, 11.

⁴ Shāpūr’s Ka’ba-yi Zardusht inscription, Parthian 2, Greek 4; A. Maricq, “*Res Gestae Divi Saporis*”, pp. 306–7.

Sasanians thus succeeded the Kushān dynasties in directing the flow of trade to the west and to the south until the Kidarites and Hephthalites, in turn, supplanted them.¹

The routes toward India through Tukhāristān are described by Hsüan-Tsiang. Balkh, as the centre of a prosperous grain-growing district and crossroads for the Iranian and Indian roads, remained an administrative centre and mint-city from Kushān to Hephthalite times. Commerce reached it from the city of Tirmidh on the Oxus and the district of Chaghāniyān. An easterly road ran to Badakhshān through the fertile districts of Khulm and Varvāliz (Varzān, Qunduz). Proceeding south from the latter, one passed through the district of Baghlān. This route up the Qunduz river led to Samangān and on past the old Kushān site of Bagolang (Surkh Kotal). Eastward lay the Khawak pass. The Panjshīr then provided a route to the Paropamisadae mountains and to Kabul. The district of this route was Fo-li-shi-sa-t'ang-na, i.e., *Parshistān. Its inhabitants were probably the Parsii and Parsietae tribesmen² – possibly Pashtūns. Through Kabul and Peshawar the Sasanians controlled the roads into India via the Khaibar (Khyber) pass or along the Kabul river through Laghmān and Swāt (*Tab. Pent.*). The Sasanians may have destroyed the Kushān city of Kapīśa in order to strengthen their position. At least one Sasanian foundation occurred in this area; Jāvēd-Shāpūr was perhaps in the vicinity of either Kapīśa or Jalālābād.

The alternative route from Balkh to Kābul followed the river of Bactria to Bāmiyān. From this pasture district (hence its name Aspacora in *Tab. Pent.*), one road crossed the Shibar pass to the Ghurband river and *Parshistān. For the station named Parthona in *Tabula Peutingeriana* (Parsiana in Ptolemy), Tomaschek suggested Parwān, at the juncture of the Ghurband and Panjshīr.³ Off this east-west road, a southerly route led through Zāwulistān to the Helmand and followed that river into Sagistān (*Tab. Pent.*). From Ortospana (Kabul), a southerly road reached Ghazna and continued to Kandahār.⁴

The south-east

The province of Kirmān was the last one on the Gulf that was essentially Iranian in population; beyond lay a transitional zone becoming increasingly Indian in people and culture. Kirmān was oriented toward

¹ [On trade and trade routes see also pp. 738ff].

² Ptolemy vi.18.

³ Cf. Tomaschek "Zur historischen Topographie von Persien" i, p. 206.

⁴ Strabo xi.8.9.

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Fārs and Māh through its commerce, whether by sea or along its roads to Stakhr and to Hamadān. Strabo¹ indicates the closeness of its people's customs to those of "the Persians and Medes". Settlers may have come from the western provinces particularly when the region formed part of the Persis kingdom. The eastern boundary of the province was then extended east from Ra's al-Kūh to about Ra's Jaddī.² Under the Sasanians it was stabilized at Chāh Bahār Bay and the port of Tīz. While continuing to receive western Iranian settlers, Kirmān also sheltered nomads, both Iranians and older indigenous peoples. The western mountains were the home of the Balōch, to whom is attributed one of the seven "mountain-rulers". They ranged across the province and also into Fārs. The Jut tribes were descendants of the Yutiya (Outii) of the Achaemenian empire. Farther east were other non-Iranians. The Bāriz lived in the mountains north of the Rūdbār, while the Kōfich (Akaufaciya) inhabited the Bashāgird range leading toward Makrān. Arabs probably were attracted across the straits from Macae territory to the coast of Armysia (Harmozia) already in the period of Persis. This fertile district, which centred on the Amanis (Mīnāb) river, may have contained the busy port of Ommāna (Omana);³ the city was later known as, or succeeded by, Harmouza (Hurmuz). The settlement of Arabs continued under the Sasanians through migration or, as in Shāpūr II's reign, transportation.

Through its desert districts to the east and north to the Biyābānak oases near Ṭabas, Kirmān bordered on Sagistān and Abarshahr. A road crossed the northern districts from the frontier of Māh and Parthau at Yazd. Its probable route to Nih and Zrang in Sagistān was via Kūhbanān, Bacinora (Rāvar), and across the desert through Pharca (Dih-i Salm). Other desert tracks presumably joined Kūhbanān, Bacinora, and Arate with Ṭabas and the southern district of Abarshahr, called Modomastica⁴ and including Khūr, Khusp, and Bīrjand. A second lateral highway, running from Stakhr, entered Kirmān's capital district of Pantylene (*Tab. Pent.*). Shīragān (Sīrjān), "City of Kirmān", was founded or refounded by one of the Sasanian Kirmānshāhs.⁵ Its function as a mint city (with the sign *shy*) indicates its economic rôle, in addition to the agricultural importance of its district. The highway continued to Archiotis (Jīruft) and through the Rūdbār district on to the Bampūr

¹ xv.2.14.

² Ptolemy vi.8.

³ See above, p. 756 and Pliny vi.32/14-19.

⁴ Ptolemy vi.6.

⁵ Markwart, *Catalogue*, 39.

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river. Two stations, Caumatis and Aradarum, lay on this route, which continued into Paradene (in Ptolemy) (Parazene in Ravennas Anonymus), the Sasanian Pārdān. The Sasanian border-station on the Bampūr river was *Puhl-pahrag (Fuhl-fahra). From here, a southerly route would have joined it with Qaşrqand and Tiz in Makrān. A north-westerly route would reach the north-eastern frontier-station *Pahrag (Fahraj) of Bam.

Other probable Sasanian foundations mark the routes of Kirmān. The port of Hurmuz (probably Hsüan-Tsiang's modest-sized but wealthy city Ho-mo) could send its imports via Valāshgird to Jiruft and the southern highway. In return it may have shipped out some of the abundance of grain and dates grown in its own district and in the Rūdbār. Jiruft also connected with a central Kirmān route: one could enter the province from Stakhr at Shahr-i Bābak and continue through the mountains to Unās (Bahrāmābād). Here a south-easterly road from Yazd and Kirmānshāhān continued to Ardashīr's stronghold of Veh-Ardashīr (Bardasir).¹ Perhaps a co-capital of the Kirman-shāhs, Veh-Ardashīr protected the routes into Fārs and may have aided commerce in the province as a mint-city. From it the central road reached Bam (with a branch to Jiruft) and *Pahrag. From the latter, a second Kirmān route into Sagistān approached Zrang from the south.

The Sasanian province Sagistān combined Achaemenian Zranka (Drangiana) and Haraxwati (Arachosia). The influx of Sakas in the late 2nd century B.C., who were followed by some Parthians, had reshaped the region's older population pattern.² These Iranians pushed east of the Helmand into "White India", penetrating to the western (or "Saka") bank of the Indus. Like the Yüeh-chih in the occupation of Bactria, they thus entered the expanding sphere of Indian and Buddhist culture. This eastern influence, already felt in Aśoka's reign, persisted through the decline of Sasanian control. Buddhism remained in Ghazna and Kandahār after the Zābul (Jagudā) and other Hephthalite tribes had occupied the upper Helmand region south to Zamin Dāvar and beyond.

While Sagistān could, in general, be called the land of wind and sands, the basins of the Farah, Khwāsh, and Helmand rivers were extensively cultivated and populated. Ample crops of wheat, barley, dates, as well as animal fodder, were produced with the aid of canal systems; the Hāmūn supported fishing villages along its shore. Ardashīr's

¹ Markwart, *Catalogue*, 40.

² Strabo xv.2.9.

refoundation of Zrang¹ formed the communications centre and capital of the province (also a bishopric by 424). There the Sagānshāh governed with a suzerainty extending to the limits of the old Saka migration in the provinces Hind and Tūrān. From Harēv, Zrang was reached through Propasta. This city's district, Anauon,² formed part of Parthian Harēv (Aria) and apparently extended to the north shore of the Hāmūn. The road passed through Juvain (*Gabiana in Ravennas Anonymus; Isidore's Gari?), and the city Bis (older Bigis) was also in the area. The Kirmān northern road, coming from Nia (Nih; Ptolemy's Inna?), merged with the Harēv road. The highway continued to Zrang through Coroc/Carcoe/Karkūya.

Departing from Zrang, one might choose three other routes. To the south-west, *Pahrag could be reached across the desert via Spēd (Ispī, Sanīg). To the north-east lay the Bāmiyān road. It proceeded up the Khwāsh river through the town of Khwāsh (Cosata, Casta); it turned east to the Helmand, probably skirting the mountains and reaching the river above Dartal. A road from Bust presumably joined it at the station Thubrassene (Ptolemy's Tribazina?); from there it continued up the Helmand and into Tukhāristān. The third route from Zrang followed the Erymandus (Helmand) through the district Paraetacene (Rūdbār). To Isidore this was Sacastana proper, as distinct from Zarangiana. He attributes to it four cities: Barda, Min, Palacenti, and the royal residence Sigal (Sigara in Ptolemy). These perhaps prospered on the river commerce between Bust and Zrang as well as on agriculture. Bust (Biyt, Para-beste) was the first city of "White India" or Arachosia; and its district along the Helmand tributaries supported other cities, such as Pharazana (Farsana), Rhizana, and Choaspa.³ Beyond the Arghandāb river, the road reached Kandahār (Alexandropolis) and the major crossroads of Panjvāy. This city was probably the Achaemenian provincial capital and the district was called Arachosia in Pliny, Arachoti in Strabo, Arachotus in Ptolemy, Chorochoad in Isidore and Rakhwad in *Shahristānīhā i Ērān*,⁴ with Rukhwadh as the name of the diocese. A south-easterly road led from it into Turān and, via the Bolan pass, into Hind; and a north-easterly road ascended the Tarnak and Ghazna rivers to Ghazna and on to Kabul.⁵ Along the latter route was the provincial capital in the Parthian period, an Alexandria, "metropolis of Arachosis".⁶ A Euthydemid

¹ Markwart, *Catalogue*, 38.

² Isidore, 16.

³ Ptolemy vi.19, 20.

⁴ Strabo xi.8.9.

⁵ Markwart, *Catalogue*, 35.

⁶ Isidore, 19; see Tarn, pp. 471-2, on its emendation; Ptolemy vi.20; Arrian iii.28.4.

foundation, Demetrias, was somewhere to the south, perhaps at Kalāt-i Ghilzai. If Isidore is emended and Ptolemy assumed to have designated Kandahār (Alexandropolis) as "Alexandria" (as his co-ordinates indicate), then Arrian's Alexandria may well be Ptolemy's Ga(u)zaca (*Ganzaca). Ghazna (Ho-si-na), "City of Zāwulistān"¹ would have made a suitable capital in Alexandrine as in Hephthalite times. It dominated the Panjvāy-Kabul road; and its district extended to the Helmand and the Zrang-Bāmiyān route. On that river lay the city which, in the 7th century, formed Ghazna's co-capital. Ho-sa-la might be identical either with Ptolemy's Azola or else, following A. Cunningham's suggestion, Guzār-istān.² Between these fortified cities abundant crops of wheat and fruit were grown, despite the mountainous terrain. As in the rest of Sagistān, a system of irrigation canals was well developed. Hsüan-Tsiang observed the growing of turmeric and assafoetida as well. The western Iranian influence on the region appears in the pilgrim's noting of a different (i.e., non-Indic) writing and language. The cities apparently housed, besides Buddhist monks, Zoroastrian mages. The latter could appropriately be described as people who daily recited several myriad words.

Most of the eastern frontier of Sagistān consisted of hill and mountain ranges, whose independent inhabitants separated that province from the upper Indus. In the south-east the province extended to the Pishin hills (Vālishtān). Beyond, the road from Panjvāy entered Hind province in the district of Ispinjāy (Fa-la-na) as it proceeded toward the Indus. The former of these two regions was well-irrigated and cultivated and so supported a substantial population. The latter, while more mountainous and wilder, was also settled and farmed. Through the mountains to the west, reaching south through Turān, ranged the Qīqān (Ki-kiang-na) tribes. Essentially independent, they perhaps gave a loose fealty to the Sasanians through the rulers of Sagistān and Turān. They raised abundant sheep and horses. Some of the latter, especially, may have been intended for the Indian market, which was eager for Iranian mounts.

The kingdom of Turān was included in the Sagānshāh's authority. It probably extended from the Bolān pass through the Budahah district and the Pab and Kirthar ranges to a vague border with Makrān and Hind near Daibul. From Kizkānān (Kalāt) in the tribal country, it extended as far as the Hind plain. Hsüan-Tsiang calls the region Pi-to-shi-lo. It was heavily populated, and its people spoke a distinct Indic

¹ Markwart, *Catalogue*, 37.

² Beal II, p. 283, note 2.

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dialect. Abundant wheat and beans were grown but little fruit, due to the cold climate. The main city and stronghold of the province was Bauterna (Quzdār). This city was the province's principal station on the north-easterly road from Makrān and Pārdān, which continued to Hind. The first city of Hind on this route was Qandābil, modern Gandava ('O-fan-ch'a); the station Cotrica (*Tab. Pent.*) was probably nearby. A northerly road to Sībī led toward Sagistān (through or north of the Bolān pass) and to Fa-la-na. The easterly route of *Tabula Peutingeriana* continued to the Indus across the Hind plain; the station Ochirea was at or near Shikārpūr. The road crossed the Indus to Phara, which must also have connected downstream with the Saka-Parthian capital of Hind, Minnagara (Binnagar). The road continued north along the Indus and Hydaspes to its terminus at Alexandria Bucephala (Jhelum or Jalālpūr).

Shāpūr I's province-list seems to imply actual contact between the provinces Hind and Kushānshahr. Hence the former, extending from the Indus delta, may then have reached along the traditional geographical boundary of Iran and India toward Peshawar. The loss of Peshawar to the Kidarites weakened the Sasanian presence, and Hsüan-Tsiang's Sin-tu does not go north of the Sutlej juncture. The plain of the united river supported a heavy Indian population, who grew wheat and millet and raised cattle, sheep, and camels. Direct access to the region was possible over the Sagistān and Makrān roads for, e.g., the reputed campaigns of Shāpūr II, Bahrām V, and Khusrau I and II. Foundations such as Shapūr's Farshābūr probably helped secure these routes. In the delta, the major port-activity shifted from Barbaricum (Barbaria); this city had, by its connection with Minnagara, given emphasis to the left-bank road to Kushān territory. Daibul, the Sasanian port and market-town, lay near the western (Sagapa or Pitti) mouth of the Indus and connected with the Makrān road. Another instrument of Sasanian control was the extensive deportation of "Zuṭṭ". This term was applied indiscriminately to the Indian tribes of the south-east frontier, such as the Qiqān and Mayid.

Between Kirmān and the largely Indian regions of Turān and Hind were the southern transitional provinces, Pārdān and Makurān (Makrān). The interior hill ranges of Gedrosia and the intervening basin of the Mashkel formed the vassal kingdom of Pārdān. While farming was probably carried out around the Mashkel and its *hāmūn*, apparently no cities were supported in that area. Ptolemy's six cities of northern

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Gedrosia seem to belong to Turān. *Tabula Peutingeriana* gives two stations along the Stakhr–Quzdār road, which followed the valley of the Rakhshān river. The road entered the province after *Puhl-pahrag (Parazene), which apparently belonged to Pārdān in the Seleucid period. The route proceeded to the station Bestia Deselutia, possibly the area of Sib or Mūrt on the Mashkel. A branch road here ran south to the Makrān–India road, and perhaps another branch existed to Zrang. The easterly highway continued to Rana (Rainna) in the area of the Rhamnae people (at or near Panjgūr) and to Quzdār. Emendation of *Tabula Peutingeriana* would yield a more northerly route through Jālq.¹

The province Makurān (Makrān) extended from Chāh Bahār to near Daibul and from the arid coastal flats to the Central Makrān range. From Achaemenian times its population combined Iranians, including the Maka (Myci), with the indigenous Fish-eaters and with Indians, such as the Arbies and Oreitae.² The coastal districts provided some grazing for cattle and sheep; but the inland valleys produced much wheat, beans, dates, and wine-grapes. Irrigation was complemented by careful channeling and storage of the summer rains' runoff.³ The province had a western port Tesa (Tiz; older Talmena); perhaps Port Cuiza and Badara ("Gwādar") also continued under the Parthians and Sasanians. Inland was the fertile and heavily settled Kej valley, the region Long-kie-lo.⁴ A highway to the Indus ran from the capital, Su-nu-li-chi-fa-lo, which is probably Qaşarqand and Achaemenian Poura.⁵ Indians, both Hindu and Buddhist, lived in this city; through it both land and sea trade could pass to *Puhl-pahrag and the Kirmān highway. Along the Makrān route to India lay the stations Rhana (Rana, again after the Rhamnae?), and Alcon. The lower Indus was reached at Paricea (perhaps Ptolemy's district Parisina). Hsüan-Tsiang knew the eastern Makrān coast as 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo; it centred on the Arabis (Porali) river and in the 1st century A.D. had a major port, Oraea, on Sonmiani Bay. At or near later Bela, the Oreite village Rhambacia had been refounded as an Alexandria.⁶ This city may be indicated by Ptolemy's Arbis or Parsis Metropolis (after the Parsirae people); and it may also be Hsüan-Tsiang's Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo. It cannot be the station Rhana but must have been on the Makrān–India route. A northerly road joined it with Quzdār and the Pārdān–Hind highway.

¹ Cf. Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

³ Cf. Arrian xv.2.3.

⁵ Arrian vi.24.1.

² Strabo xv.2.1; Arrian vi.21.3–4.

⁴ Cf. the Dangalae people of Pliny vi.25/92.

⁶ Arrian vi.21.5.

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The abbreviations used in the bibliographies and footnotes are listed below.

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i> (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts) (Berlin)
<i>AAWG</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen</i> (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Göttingen)
<i>AAntASH</i>	<i>Acta antiqua academiae scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
<i>AArchASH</i>	<i>Acta archaeologica academiae scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> (Brussels)
<i>Acta Iranica</i>	<i>Acta Iranica</i> (encyclopédie permanente des études iraniennes) (Tehran–Liège–Leiden)
<i>Aevum</i>	<i>Aevum</i> (Rassegna di Scienze Storiche Linguistiche e Filologiche) (Milan)
<i>AGWG</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der (königlichen) Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i> (Berlin)
<i>AI</i>	<i>Ars Islamica</i> = <i>Ars Orientalis</i> (Ann Arbor, Mich.)
<i>AION</i>	<i>Annali: Istituto Orientale di Napoli</i> (s.l. sezione linguistica; n.s. new series) (Naples)
<i>AJSLL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i> (Chicago)
<i>AKM</i>	<i>Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> (Leipzig)
<i>AMI</i>	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i> (old series 9 vols 1929–38; new series 1968–) (Berlin)
<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Anatolia</i> (revue annuelle d'archéologie) (Ankara)
<i>ANS</i>	American Numismatic Society
<i>ANSMN</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society Museum Notes</i> (New York)
<i>ANSNM</i>	American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs (New York)
<i>ANSNS</i>	American Numismatic Society Numismatic Studies (New York)
<i>Antiquity</i>	<i>Antiquity</i> (a periodical review of archaeology edited by Glyn Daniel) (Cambridge)
<i>AO</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> (ediderunt Societates Orientales Batava Danica Norvegica Svedica) (Copenhagen)
<i>AOAW</i>	<i>Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Vienna)
<i>AOH</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
<i>APAW</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen (Deutschen) Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Berlin)
<i>Apollo</i>	<i>Apollo</i> (The magazine of the arts) (London)
<i>ArOr</i>	<i>Archiv Orientální</i> (Quarterly Journal of African, Asian and Latin American Studies) (Prague)
<i>Artibus Asiae</i>	<i>Artibus Asiae</i> (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University) (Dresden, Ascona)

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- ASIR* *Archaeological Survey of India*. Reports made during the years 1862- by Alexander Cunningham, 23 vols. Simla-Calcutta, 1871-87.
- BASOR* *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (Baltimore, Maryland)
- BCH* *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (Athens-Paris)
- BCMA* *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland, Ohio)
- BEFEO* *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* (Hanoi-Paris)
- Berytus* *Berytus* (archaeological studies published by the Museum of Archaeology and the American University of Beirut) (Copenhagen)
- BMQ* *British Museum Quarterly* (London)
- BSO(A)S* *Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies* (University of London)
- Byzantion* *Byzantion* (Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines) (Brussels)
- CAH* *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 12 vols; 1st edition 1924-39 (Cambridge) (Revised edition 1970-)
- Caucasica* *Caucasica* (Zeitschrift für die Erforschung der Sprachen und Kulturen des Kaukasus und Armeniens) 10 fascs (Leipzig, 1924-34)
- CII* *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (Oxford)
- CIIr* *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* (London)
- CRAI* *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres* (Paris)
- CSCO* *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Paris, Louvain)
- CSEL* *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna)
- DOAW* *Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Vienna)
- East and West* *East and West* (Quarterly published by the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Orient) (Rome)
- EI* *Epigraphia Indica* (Calcutta)
- Eos* *Eos* (Commentarii Societatis Philologiae Polonorum) (Bratislava-Warsaw)
- EPRO* *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain* (Leiden)
- Eranos* *Eranos* (Acta Philologica Suecana) (Uppsala)
- ERE* *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings, 13 vols (Edinburgh, 1908-21)
- GCS* *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig, Berlin)
- Georgica* *Georgica* (a journal of Georgian and Caucasian studies) nos. 1-5 (London, 1935-7)
- GJ* *The Geographical Journal* (London)

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- Historia* *Historia* (Journal of Ancient History) (Wiesbaden)
- HJAS* *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.)
- HO* *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, ed. B. Spuler (Leiden-Cologne)
- HOS* *Harvard Oriental Series* (Cambridge, Mass.)
- IA* *Iranica Antiqua* (Leiden)
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- Iran* *Iran* (journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies) (London-Tehran)
- Iraq* *Iraq* (journal of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq) (London)
- JA* *Journal Asiatique* (Paris)
- JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New York)
- JASB* *Journal (and proceedings) of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta)
- JASBB* *Journal of the Asiatic Society Bombay Branch* (Bombay)
- JCOI* *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, 29 vols (Bombay, 1922-35)
- JCS* *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* (New Haven, Conn.)
- JESHO* *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (Leiden)
- JHS* *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (London)
- JMBRAS* *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore)
- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (Chicago)
- JNSI* *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (Bombay)
- JRAS* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London)
- JRS* *The Journal of Roman Studies* (London)
- Kairos* *Kairos* (Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft und Theologie) (Salzburg)
- Klio* *Klio* (Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte) (Berlin)
- Kuml* *Kuml* (Aarbog for Jysk Arkaeologisk Selskab) (Aarhus)
- KSIMK* *Kratkie soobshcheniya o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniyakh Instituta istorii materialnoi kultury AN SSR* (Moscow)
- KZ* *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, begründet von Adalbert Kuhn* (Göttingen)
- LCL* Loeb Classical Library
- MDAFA* Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (Paris)
- Mesopotamia* *Mesopotamia* (Rivista di Archeologia, Faculta di Littere e filosofia) (University of Turin)
- MMAB* *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (old series 1905-42; new series 1942-) (New York)

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- Le Muséon* *Le Muséon* (Revue d'Études Orientales) (Louvain-Paris)
- Museum* *Museum* (art magazine edited by the Tokyo National Museum) (Tokyo)
- NC* *Numismatic Chronicle* (London)
- NGWG* *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Göttingen)
- Numismatica* *Numismatica* (Rome)
- OLZ* *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* (Berlin-Leipzig)
- Oriens* *Oriens* (journal of the International Society for Oriental Research) (Leiden)
- Orientalia* *Orientalia* (a quarterly published by the Faculty of Ancient Oriental Studies, Pontifical Biblical Institute) new series (Rome)
- Pauly* Pauly, A. *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (ed. G. Wissowa) (Stuttgart, 1894-)
- PBA* *Proceedings of the British Academy* (London)
- Philologus* *Philologus* (Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum) (Stolberg, etc., now Berlin)
- PO* *Patrologia Orientalis* (ed. R. Gaffin and F. Nau) (Paris)
- RAA* *Revue des arts asiatiques* (Paris)
- RAC* *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum* (ed. T. Klauser) (Stuttgart, 1950-)
- REA* *Revue des études arméniennes*, nouvelle série (Paris)
- Religion* *Religion* (A Journal of Religion and Religions) (Newcastle upon Tyne)
- RGG* *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., 6 vols (Tübingen, 1927-32); 3rd ed., 7 vols (Tübingen, 1957-65)
- RHR* *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris)
- RIN* *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini* (Milan)
- RN* *Revue Numismatique* (Paris)
- RSO* *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (Rome)
- Saeculum* *Saeculum* (Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte) (Freiburg-Munich)
- SBE* *Sacred Books of the East* (Oxford)
- SCBO* *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis* (Oxford)
- Semitica* *Semitica* (Cahiers publiés par l'Institut d'Études Sémitiques de l'Université de Paris) (Paris)
- SHAW* *Sitzungsberichte der heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Heidelberg)
- SPA* *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman, 6 vols (Text pp. 1-2817) (Oxford-London-New York, 1938-39); repr. 12 vols (Tokyo, 1964-65); no vol. XIII; vol. XIV *New Studies 1938-1960* (Text pp. 2879-3205) (Oxford-London, 1967); vol. XV *Bibliography of Pre-Islamic Persian Art to 1938* (cols 1-340), Reprint of *Index to Text Volumes I-III (i-vi)*

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- SPAW* *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen (Deutschen) Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Berlin)
- StIr* *Studia Iranica* (Leiden)
- Sumer* *Sumer* (journal of archaeology and history in Iraq) (Baghdad)
- SWAW* *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener (Österreichischen) Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Vienna)
- Syria* *Syria* (Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie) (Paris)
- TITAKE* *Trudi Iuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi Archeologicheskoi Kimplexnoi Ekspeditsii*, 6 vols (Moscow, 1949-58)
- TM* *Travaux et mémoires* (Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilization de Byzance) (Paris)
- T'oung Pao* *T'oung Pao* (Archives concernant l'histoire, les langues, la géographie, l'ethnographie et les arts de l'Asie orientale) (Leiden)
- TPS* *Transactions of the Philological Society* (London)
- VDI* *Vestnik drevnei istorii* (Moscow)
- WVDOG* *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (Leipzig)
- WZKM* *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Vienna)
- YCS* *Yale Classical Studies* (New Haven, Conn.)
- ZA* *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (Berlin)
- ZDMG* *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden)
- ZN* *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* (Berlin)

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